

PRIMITIVE MAN

CONTENTS

Land Tenure and Other Property Concepts among the San Blas Cuna..	63
D. B. STOUT	
Chiricahua Apache Material relating to Sorcery	81
MORRIS EDWARD OPLER	
Some Recent Anthropological Publications.....	93
JOHN M. COOPER	
Index to Volume XIX.....	99

PUBLISHED BY THE
CATHOLIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, 17, D. C.

(Second Printing -- April 1969)



PRIMITIVE MAN

Quarterly Bulletin
of the
Catholic Anthropological Conference

Vol. XIX Washington, D. C., July and October, 1946 Nos. 3 and 4

LAND TENURE AND OTHER PROPERTY CONCEPTS AMONG THE SAN BLAS CUNA

D. B. STOUT
Syracuse University

INTRODUCTION

IT is the purpose of this paper to describe the property concepts of the present-day San Blas Cuna Indians of Panama and show how they are the outgrowth both of aboriginal concepts and of influences consequent to European contact.¹

The San Blas Cuna of the 20th century, who live on about 30 small, low coral islands and in several villages on the coast along the Caribbean side of eastern Panama, are by far the greater part of the Cuna tribe who, in pre-Columbian times, lived along the rivers on both slopes of the Panamanian Cordillera, around

¹ Historical and field data collected while holding Cutting Travelling Fellowships, Columbia University, 1939-1941, and written with the aid of a grant from the American Philosophical Society, 1946. The author also wishes to acknowledge a number of helpful criticisms and suggestions made by Dr. John M. Cooper concerning the subject of this paper.

² These and subsequent remarks concerning the movement and contacts of the Cuna during historic times have been summarized from the author's MSS "San Blas Cuna Acculturation: An Introduction," Chaps. 1 and 3. Much of the same account is also given in Erland Nordenskiöld, "An Historical and Ethnological Survey of the Cuna Indians," ed. by Henry Wassén, *Comparative Ethnographical Studies*, vol. 10, Göteborg, 1938, pp. 1-7, 120-124; and in Henry Wassén, "Original Documents from the Cuna Indians of San Blas, Panama," *Etnologiska Studier*, no. 6, Göteborg, 1938, p. 24.

the shores of the Gulf of Uraba and in southeastern Panama.² Since the Conquest and Spanish Colonial periods the Cuna have been progressively moving northward and westward, retreating up the rivers on the southern slopes of the Cordillera and over the mountains, abandoning much of their original area to Choco Indians, Negroes, mulattoes and other Panamanian settlers. The ancestors of the modern San Blas Cuna, who now number about 21,000, moved down the rivers and out on to the islands of the Caribbean side during the 19th century, for reasons given below, leaving behind several thousand Mainland Cuna in the upper reaches of the Chucunaque and Chepo (or Bayano) Rivers.

Contacts of the Cuna with other cultures have been many and varied. The Conquest and Colonial periods extended from 1510 to about the mid-18th century, during which a number of towns were established in the Cuna territory, especially on the Pacific side of the Cordillera. Negro slaves were brought to Panama early in the Conquest and their descendants have lived as unfriendly neighbors ever since. Pirates of several nationalities used the San Blas islands as a rendezvous throughout the 17th and part of the 18th centuries, and often crossed the isthmus through Cuna areas, obtaining guidance from the Indians in return for firearms, cloth and trinkets. A Scotch Colony, 1698-1700, and a French Colony, 1690-1757, were both located on the San Blas coast; Catholic mission activity occurred in several places during the Colonial period and Catholic and Protestant missions and schools have been located at various islands along the San Blas coast during the present century. Traders have been active since the early decades of the 19th century.

In addition to these contacts in the Cuna environment the Cuna themselves, especially men of the San Blas portion of the tribe, have sought contacts outside of the tribal area. The most important of these have been the many hundreds of Cuna men who have served as sailors on the pirate and English and American trading ships, especially during the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. A number of young men, and some of the women, have attended schools or worked in the Panamanian

cities during the past 40 years and about 4,000 are in the cities and Canal Zone at the present time. Nearly all of these Cuna who leave the tribal area eventually return, though in the case of the sailors it may not be until after 15-20 years during which they have lived in or visited the principal ports of the world.

GENERAL CULTURE CHANGES

With such a diversity of contacts many changes in the culture are to be expected, among which have been a number of fundamental shifts in the economic system of the San Blas Cuna with attendant modification of their property concepts. The agriculture-material culture-technology of the Cuna at the time of the Conquest was of the general South American Tropical Forest pattern, though with larger villages composed of non-kin groups, more complex social and political forms and a rather elaborate esthetic craftwork in which gold was much used. The early social organization included chiefs and nobles, commoners, and slaves who were war captives.³ The Conquest disrupted this class system, for slavery ended (indeed many of the nobles themselves became slaves of the Spaniards), and the social system appears to have been generally down-graded in complexity. The extended families of the present day are headed by the eldest male (*saka*) who exercises a considerable measure of control over his sons-in-law who, because marriage residence is matrilocal, dwell in the same household. In addition to village chiefs there are also tribal chiefs at the head of the two political parties into which the majority of the San Blas Cuna are now divided. Marriage, which was once polygynous for the chiefs and nobles⁴ is now monogamous for all, except in very rare instances.

³ Gonzales Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, *Historia General y Natural de las Indas*, Madrid, 1851-55, tomo III, pp. 126, 129; Pascual de Andagoya, "Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila," trans. and ed. by C. R. Markham, *Hakluyt Society*, vol. 34, London, 1865, p. 9.

⁴ Andagoya, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10; Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, ed. by G. P. Winship, Cleveland, 1903, p. 154; Juan Requejo Salcedo, "Relación Histórica y Geográfica de la Provincia de Panamá (año 1640)," *Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes á la Historia de America*, tomo VIII, Madrid, 1908, pp. 116, 132.

Aboriginal subsistence was derived from hunting, fishing, gathering of supplementary foods such as fruits and cacao, and agriculture. The last was the principal source of food; the crops grown were corn, potatoes, manioc, and pineapples. In addition, peppers, tobacco and cotton were raised. Dibbles and slash-and-burn methods were employed in the agriculture; these technological limitations as well as environmental factors required the abandonment of fields and movement to new areas, for suitable soil was probably never plentiful and fields were soon exhausted or recaptured by the jungle. The Spaniards soon introduced many new food plants to the area and these, because most of them are better adapted to the environment and a number of Cuna were impressed as labor on Spanish farms, appear to have been accepted into Cuna culture at an early date. They included bananas and plantains, yams, sugar cane, dry rice, and oranges and limes. Crop raising is still by the old methods, but aided by metal tools; the principal agricultural tools now are machetes and metal dibbles. Hoes and spades have not been accepted. The Spaniards also introduced chickens and pigs, though neither are important items in the modern diet.

The early sources give no indication that coconuts were important to Cuna economy or much used as food;⁵ it remained for the traders of the 19th century to develop a market for them. Trading activity was aided by relatively quiet international political conditions, and though the Isthmus was part of Colombia, the government exercised little control in the Cuna area and trading ships came to the San Blas coast at will, often without making a call for customs inspection at Cartagena. The traders had much to offer in exchange for coconuts—cloth, thread and needles, machetes, kerosene, guns, fishhooks and line, china ware, metal vessels, and tobacco. As a result many Cuna abandoned their villages along the rivers of the San Blas coast and moved to a number of islands within a mile or so of the coast. Most of the villages are now very crowded—indeed some of the

⁵ Oviedo, *op. cit.*, tomo I, pp. 335-336; Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, trans. by F. A. MacNutt, New York, 1912, vol. II, p. 102; Wafer, *op. cit.*, p. 98 and illus. facing pp. 109, 137.

islands have been artificially extended around the margins—and are little more than “bedrooms,” for nearly all productive economic activity takes place elsewhere during the daytime. Crop lands are on the coast and coconut plots on the coast and outlying islands. The production and trade of coconuts has loomed larger and larger in San Blas Cuna culture, at the expense of other agricultural activity and of hunting. At first only wild nuts were gathered but the growing demand led to tending the trees and to clearing and planting new plots on the coast and islands. Coconuts are now the mainspring of the economy and the ultimate source of most of the other wealth-forms. The price of coconuts varies with world economic cycles, with consequent uncertainties among the San Blas Cuna themselves. The prices ranged from twelve for five cents to three to four for five cents during the 1930's and during World War II rose to five, six, and seven cents apiece. The total production in 1940 was about 8,000,000 nuts; in 1945 about 12,000,000. Thus the total annual income for the San Blas Cuna from this source has, in modern times, varied from \$100,000 to as much as \$800,000. There are indications that the Panamanian government hopes to stabilize the trade at about \$300,000 annually.⁶

Other items of external trade, formerly more important than now, have been ipecac, wild rubber, tagua nuts, cacao, sea-turtles and tortoise shell. The demand for these has almost ceased, and their place as secondary trade items has been taken by pigs, eggs, bananas, and oranges.

LAND TENURE AND PROPERTY RIGHTS CONCERNING IMMOVABLES

With the above general cultural history in mind we are prepared to examine in detail the property concepts of the San Blas Cuna. The early sources provide little information concerning crop lands or hunting and fishing grounds. One report from Conquest times noted that a number of the local chiefs were

⁶ Information supplied by various traders operating along the San Blas coast; *La Nación*, Panama, February 18, 1946.

killed in disputes over fishing and hunting grounds⁷ which suggests that these were possibly communally owned. They are now held by the San Blas Cuna at large, and are free to all, including hunting down an animal on someone else's crop land. Fish are much more abundant in the island environment than when the San Blas Cuna lived along the mainland streams, and can be caught by anyone, anywhere.

There is, however, a definite feeling of the right to or possession of the total tribal territory among all the Cuna, Mainland and San Blas coast alike. It is evident in the folklore of both the Cuna and the neighboring Choco, in which there are a number of tales recounting fights between these tribes over hunting grounds, and the integrity of tribal territory was a major issue in the Revolution staged by the San Blas Cuna against the Panamanian government in 1925. Since then the government has established an Intendencia, the boundaries of which include all but a very few of the Cuna; under the laws of the government no outsider can purchase land in the Intendencia, and the Cuna possess the power to withhold permission to outsiders to rent, settle, or establish business on their land. The Cuna do not possess subsoil rights in the Intendencia, for these are held by the Panamanian government. It is a point that does not particularly concern the Cuna as yet, for only a few of the younger men with considerable experience in the world of the Whites realize its implications, that, should a mining concession be granted by the government to some outside company, crop lands would inevitably be destroyed in the course of operations.

Nothing is known of the aboriginal tenure of or rights to gold-producing spots in the streams. It is a question totally absent from the San Blas Cuna, for the streams to which they now have access appear not to contain any gold-bearing gravels. Nowadays all gold ornaments are obtained from several goldsmith-traders who work the coast in small schooners.

Crop lands were presumably owned in the 16th century by the nobles and commoners, and were worked, at least in part, by the

⁷ Andagoya, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 11.

slaves. They were also probably worked by the sons-in-law of the "saco," or principal men of the communities of that time⁸ who appear to be equivalent to the household heads (*saka*) of the present and for whom their sons-in-law must do a certain amount of work. Now crop lands and coconut plots are owned by nearly all males and some by females; some of the villages also now hold village-owned coconut plots, the profits of which go to the village treasury and in part to the treasury of either of the two political parties.

Aboriginally the Cuna evidently had interest only in the surface of the land and especially in what could be grown on it; once abandoned because it had become exhausted or had been recaptured by the jungle, it was also valueless to others. It is important to note that all through the historic period and especially during the 19th and 20th centuries the San Blas Cuna and their ancestors have been progressively moving from the South and East of Panama to the North and West, leaving behind them a series of used crop lands. The San Blas Cuna crossed their last frontier when they moved to the islands, for movement there committed them to a limited use of the mainland. They can exploit, with their present technology, a strip of land extending from 2 to 3 miles inland to 5 or 6 (uncommon). Fields of the latter distance are not desirable, for they require overnight stays in temporary houses which the Cuna men do not like, in part because of supernatural fears, in part because there are a great many more annoying insects on the mainland than on the islands. This continued, limited exploitation of a strip of coastal land is possible only because of the development of coconut production and its extension to outlying, uninhabited islands most of which are unsuited for other crops without the use of fertilizers, a practice not yet adopted.

At present, the San Blas Cuna have very nearly reached the saturation point in the exploitation of land for food crops and coconut production with their technology and agricultural practices. Much of the coastal area accessible to them is hilly or

⁸ Oviedo, *op. cit.*, tomo III, pp. 126, 129-130.

mountainous; the top-soil is often infertile, dense clay. There is very little unclaimed, usable land remaining at present, either on the coastal mainland or on outlying islands, yet within the memory of living informants, before so much land was given over to coconut plots, there was much "free" or "God's land," claimable by whoever took the trouble to clear and mark it, as opposed to "used" land already owned by someone. The present shortage of land is evident in the Cuna's reaction to encroachment and crop-stealing on the part of Negroes and the establishment of a commercial banana plantation which resulted in the destruction and expropriation of large tracts, both of which were issues in the Revolution in 1925. Further such inroads are effectively precluded in the revised Intendencia laws of 1930, but since then there has developed considerable concern over certain diseases and insect blights that have attacked the coconut trees. The cure for these latter troubles involves drastic thinning-out of the trees (with a consequent temporary drop in production) which to date has been resisted.

Land is now inalienable, even though abandoned or lying fallow for two to four years, or virgin and uncleared but already claimed. It can also be loaned for long periods without loss of right to it. Boundaries are marked by rows of trees or plants or by marks on trees. Disputes over the location of a boundary or the ownership of a whole plot are arbitrated by the advisers, of which each village has several, who are familiar with the local genealogies and the histories of various tracts, and who also depend for part of their information, when necessary, on witnesses. Serious disputes that cannot be settled in this manner are resolved by a wrestling bout between the principals.

Inheritance in aboriginal times was primogenital, with the sons of secondary wives (in the case of polygynous marriages) not entering into the system.⁹ This would, of course, tend to keep land and other property rights in the hands of a few within the strata of nobles and, perhaps also, commoners. Now inheritance is extended to all children equally, and between

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133; Andagoya, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

siblings, but not between spouses or in-laws. Adopted and illegitimate children usually do not inherit; they, as well as occasional legitimate sons, are simply given a few small plots of coconut and food crop lands when old enough to exploit them as a stake in life. Should a very young child inherit land it is held in trust for him (or her) by an older brother or the father, who tends it and saves a part of the money profits, should it be coconut land, for the child's benefit later on. Deeds and titles are not employed, but there are some men at two of the most acculturated islands, where there have been missionaries since 1907, who have made wills which they deposit with the missionary or have the missionary witness.

Land is worked by the men, either individually, or by several brothers, brothers-in-law, several friends, father and sons, or father-in-law and sons-in-law. That owned by a woman is worked for her by her sons, brothers, husband or father, and the profits go to the woman. These work patterns hold both for food crop land and for coconut plots, but are especially evident in the latter. As a result of island-village exogamy (island endogamy prevails but is not mandatory) men sometimes own land at distant villages, in which case they make occasional visits to it, leaving its care to their fathers or brothers in the interim. The *saka* apportions each day's labor on the croplands or coconut plots by the household members. Should his apportionment be unfair and exploitative of his sons-in-law, the latter would have grounds for divorce. Agricultural work for wages has been a slowly increasing practice at several of the more acculturated islands in recent years.

Land, especially coconut plots, is nowadays bought and sold among the men, almost always at the time of the four-day (or debut) ceremony for a girl when most of the men become drunk and desire money with which to buy more rum. There are few men who now own no coconut or crop lands at all, but their number is increasing, especially among the younger men who spend much of their time working for wages in the cities and Canal Zone and who are marginal to San Blas Cuna culture in many other respects. Land is not leased or rented among the

San Blas Cuna, though small tracts have been rented to several outsiders (among them a retired Canal Zone employe and several small commercial enterprises such as a copra plant).

Dual property rights occur in only one known situation wherein different individuals hold turtle-catching rights and coconut plots on the same island. This evidently arose during the 19th century when the traders offered a market for both coconuts and sea turtles (and tortoise shell) and different Cuna men exploited the same islands for these items.

House ownership passes in the female line, and as nearly every marriage produces a number of children, most houses are held jointly by several sisters. There is no definite value or property right attached to the land on which a house stands; the structures are simply built on whatever open space an island affords, and at those islands where crowding has become acute new space is reclaimed from the ocean by filling in the shallows around the margins of the island with trash, coral chunks and a little gravel from the mainland. When a house wears out a new one is built on the same spot. Though individuals, especially men (for whom marriage residence is matrilocal), move out of houses, whole extended families rarely do, hence the occasion seldom arises when an individual or a household must acquire a new house site.

There are no individual or family water rights; water is obtained by the women in the mainland streams every day when they also wash clothes. The spots are selected on the basis of proper depth and good bottom and are open to anyone's use.

PROPERTY RIGHTS CONCERNING MOVABLES

The food eaten in a household comes from the land of any one or several of the members at any one time. Crop land products, though individually owned, are generously shared within the household; it is the requisite of a "good" father-in-law or household head that he make an equitable levy on the crop land products of the various household members. Conversely, an inequitable levy on the food crops of the sons-in-law causes argu-

ment and hard feeling and may lead to divorce, as in the case of apportionment of labor noted above.

Fuel is largely provided by coconut husks, of which there is an excess, for the nuts are husked on the islands. What little firewood is needed can be gathered by anyone, anywhere on the mainland, for the supply is ample.

Medicine plants, certain varieties of wood and types of stones with magical properties can be gathered by the medicine men wherever they are found. Once collected they are owned by the medicine man and serve as a source of profit should he sell cures based on them. Medicine plants are sometimes transplanted to the islands where they are grown in little gardens adjacent to the medicine man's house.

Aboriginally chiefs and nobles each had their own property mark which was tattooed on their slaves and followers.¹⁰ At the present time dugout canoes and calabash water bottles are the only movables bearing definite property marks; the bottles (which all look much alike) are marked to avoid confusion when they are sent to the mainland for filling in the care of some other woman or girl and to insure the return of as many as were sent. In most instances it is only the canoes of the younger men, who are copying White practices, that are distinctively painted and named, though in effect all canoes bear distinguishing marks—a patch, a split place, or a unique combination of colors in the sail cloth—that serve to identify them should they be set adrift or otherwise lost. Similarly, one's paddles, shotgun, or valuable items of clothing and ornament all have their unique and inherent distinguishing marks which serve to identify them if they are mislaid, lost or stolen—the last very uncommon.

The bulk of the material culture, including domestic animals, is individually owned, the major items being pigs, chickens, canoes, clothing, ornaments, miscellaneous articles of White culture acquired in emulation of Whites, firearms, medicine men's equipment and "pharmaceuticals," hammocks, one-piece wooden

¹⁰ Oviedo, *op. cit.*, tomo III, p. 129.

seats, cooking utensils, china dishes and machetes. All of these are owned in a greater or lesser amount by the appropriate sex from childhood onward and are acquired through inheritance, gift, or purchase. Their use is generously shared within households and to a lesser degree between related households. A young man brings his canoe, his gun (if he owns one) and his clothing to his wife's house upon marriage. While living there he uses a hammock and dishes, etc., belonging to a member of her household; should he be divorced he takes with him only what he brought plus what he may have purchased for himself in the meantime. Items such as clothing, ornaments or dishes that he may have bought his wife during the marriage remain with her. Upon the death of an individual most of his movable possessions pass to others in accordance with the inheritance regulations noted above, with articles habitually used by women passing to women and men's to men if the sex of the heirs is mixed.

It is requisite of the ideal character that one be generous and ungrudging in lending his personal possessions. Conversely, one must not be a habitual "sponger," for that is a very undesirable trait. Industriousness is also highly valued, and it is somewhat better, in the estimation of the San Blas Cuna, to have worked for the possession of an article than to have come by it through inheritance.

Buying and selling are frequently engaged in by both sexes, and all things, except houses, are subject to sale. The principal items bought and sold are food, canoes, hammocks, women's elaborate appliqué blouses, and medicines. The author encountered little difficulty in purchasing articles for a museum collection and was never in doubt concerning the ownership of items he wished to buy. Bargaining, however, is not much practised, either among the San Blas Cuna or with the traders. A price is either accepted or rejected; in instances of dealing with the traders, often with bafflement as to why the money value of coconuts or trade goods has changed from what it had been a week or a month ago. Money and coconuts are the media of exchange

with a somewhat greater emphasis on the former, and all prices are reckoned in terms of one or the other of them.

As in the case of the village-owned coconut plots noted above, a number of villages also own fish nets, chicken farms, and in fewer cases, small schooners, schools, and stores. These have been acquired through a levy on every adult male in the village. In addition some of the men at several villages have cooperatively owned fish nets which are operated by small groups of the owners in rotation, the ones participating receiving a larger share of a specific haul than those who do not.

In aboriginal times, slaves, wives, food, weapons and model canoes were variously buried with a chief's body.¹¹ Within the memory of living informants clothing and gold ornaments were extensively buried with the deceased and a man's canoe was destroyed upon his death. In addition, metal and china dishes were placed on the surface of the grave with their bottoms knocked out to destroy their usefulness and prevent theft. Nowadays, the destruction or burial of property objects upon death has greatly decreased, and is limited to clothing on the corpse, a few ornaments (in the case of women), broken dishes as in earlier times, and occasionally the equivalent in cash of a canoe. Other than this destruction and abandonment of possessions accompanying death and burial, these practices do not occur in San Blas Cuna society. On the contrary, a wasteful or careless person is regarded as foolish and undependable and in no case would he or she gain prestige through acts of conspicuous consumption.

INCORPOREAL PROPERTY

This type of property is not emphasized or elaborated in San Blas Cuna culture, and in no instance is incorporeal property heritable. It is limited to a few titles such as those of the several grades of ceremonial leaders, the three grades of medicine men, the political hierarchy—chief, second chief, advisers, “po-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 155-156; Andagoya, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Salcedo, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

licemen," etc.—and a number of minor specialist assistants in the ceremonies and village government. All except the highest grade of medicine man acquire their titles through study (often involving tuition) and by experience; the excepted status is that of the most prestigious person in the society, the seer-type of medicine man whose potential status is determined by certain signs at birth but who must also validate the status and title by intensive study. Fakers and impostors who claim the knowledge and titles of the medicine men without having earned them through study are publicly exposed and censured. The chiefs and other members of the village and tribal government are elected by all the men of the village; tribal officials by village representatives who meet in inter-village congresses. The emphasis on achievement of statuses and their attendant titles is an indigenous value; the 16th and 17th century sources contain a number of references to the achievement of titles through prowess in warfare or expertness in some other activity.¹²

WEALTH, PRESTIGE, AND STATUS

The degree of possession of wealth-forms certainly, in aboriginal times, was correlated with higher status, but the details are not known. Rich and poor families nowadays are distinguished by their possession of ready cash, land (especially coconut plots), women's gold ornaments and necklaces made of silver coins and glass beads, women's clothing (especially elaborately appliquéd blouses), and a miscellany of White material culture such as large collections of enamelware kettles and china ware, pieces of silk and cotton, bed sheets and pillow cases in their original cellophane wrappings, cosmetics and lotions, children's shoes, combs, brushes, toys and marbles, clocks and watches, factory-made furniture, phonographs and sewing machines. Two economic strata are distinguishable at most islands, between which there are differences in the degree of conservatism and adherence to the ideal code of behavior, for the upper stratum families pride themselves on their lesser degree of

¹² Oviedo, *op. cit.*, tomo III, pp. 126, 127; Andagoya, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

begging, stealing, drunkenness and divorce and their greater industriousness. These distinct strata have evolved during the period of coconut trade and their perpetuation seems certain, for the wealthy families are buying coconut plots from the poorer families, which in turn limits the possibilities of the latter to better their position.

Much of the White material culture noted above is simply hoarded, though it is not hidden, and everyone in a village knows the extent of each family's collection. It is not displayed blatantly but is kept in wooden chests or neatly arranged on shelves or hooks. Women's clothing and ornaments are the principal display items and are most in evidence during the dances at girls' puberty ceremonies.

At the two most acculturated islands the elaborate gold and silver ornaments and appliqué blouses are not worn; their place is taken by White-style dress. Here also there is a lower per capita holding of coconut plots, cash income being derived instead from a higher proportion of young men working in the cities and Canal Zone. Food crop lands are also owned on a smaller scale and prestige is gained by the ability to purchase refined sugar, canned fish, and bread at the several traders' stores.

Money is increasingly desired in itself for the prestige it brings and for the things that can be bought with it. Of a total population of about 21,000, there are now about 4,000, most of them young men, who are earning money in the cities, though as yet few of them remain in the cities permanently and most of them return to the islands from time to time and engage to a small degree in the more traditional economic activities of subsistence farming and raising coconuts for sale. But hunting and fishing are unpleasant, degrading chores in their estimation.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

In arranging the data for the extraction of the factors responsible for the various property concepts among the San Blas Cuna it has been necessary to indicate the functioning relationships between property and other aspects of the culture. The histori-

cal sources have not permitted a consistently detailed derivation of modern property concepts from those of aboriginal times but the main threads have been discernible, both for the interests and values within Cuna culture and for the impinging influences of White culture.

Aboriginal tenure of crop land was what has been termed "inherited use ownership"¹³ vested in individuals. This interest in the product of the land is still the predominant feature, but there has been a growing emphasis on the concept of land as real estate in our sense, *i. e.* a plot of ground in which ownership is inalienable, which can be bought and sold, and which need not be producing a crop to be valuable. The dominant factors determining land tenure and other property rights in immovables are clearly the relative abundance and scarcity of the various products of the land and water itself, their fixity or motility as species and their desirability as food or as media for acquiring other objects.¹⁴ The importance of these factors as governing principles can be most easily discerned during the period of movement to the islands with its consequent commitment to a limited area of exploitation. Enhancing the clarity of these factors is the constancy of the methods or technology of exploitation, for these have not basically changed. The emphasis on or desirability of different types of products has, of course, shifted, but it is a shift that reflects or arises from other, independent cultural interests and motivations, some of which are indigenous and others the result of borrowing from the socially and culturally dominant Whites.

¹³ Melville J. Herskovits, *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*, New York, 1940, pp. 322, 328; W. W. Hill, "The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians," *Yale Univ. Publications in Anthropology*, no. 18, New Haven, 1938, pp. 20-23.

¹⁴ Cf. the analysis of the factors determining communal tenure and tenure in severalty among marginal and agricultural peoples, in John M. Cooper, "Temporal Sequence and the Marginal Cultures," *The Catholic Univ. of America, Anthropological Series*, no. 10, Washington, 1941, pp. 57-61.

These interests are important, if not dominant, factors involved in the concepts of property in movables. Thus, individuals have always owned movables in Cuna culture, but aside from the movables of aboriginal times that have been replaced by their analogs as a result of contact trade there has also been a great influx of many types of wealth objects which give prestige, be they displayed or hoarded, and which have been taken over in unconscious emulation of Whites. Lying behind the desirability of cosmetics and lotions, for instance, is an aboriginal emphasis on sweet smells, evident all through the mythology and medicine chants; but such traits as working for wages or making a will are totally new to the culture though they too have resulted from contact borrowings. Likewise, the use of money, the feelings about and attitudes toward cash among the San Blas Cuna are rapidly equaling those in White culture. They have entered the culture as a concomitant of trade with Whites which in turn was acceptable against the background of barter which has undoubtedly always existed in this culture.¹⁵

With the increasing emphasis on prestige derived from the accumulation and possession of movables, destruction of property has decreased. Sharing, giving and lending, and all that these acts imply as behavior with property objects, evidently have remained constant throughout. Incorporeal property has never been and is not now emphasized.

The total effect of the changes in property concepts (and related economic activity) of the San Blas Cuna is that of placing the culture in a delicately balanced position. Their trade is of commercial proportions and of importance to the Panamanian national economy. The interests and motivations of the Cuna themselves are now such that their diet is suffering, interest is rapidly being lost in traditional activities, and the large-scale absence from the villages of wage earners is contributing to the disintegration of the extended families. Economic booms and

¹⁵ Oviedo, *op. cit.*, tomo III, p. 140; Andagoya, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Wafer, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

depressions have occurred and will recur, and though no one of them has yet had disastrous results, the lack of stored food resources increases this danger in the future. The most promising counter-action, that of increasing the degree of exploitation of natural resources by new techniques and practices, has thus far been resisted.

CHIRICAHUA APACHE MATERIAL RELATING TO SORCERY

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER

Harvard University

THE major anxieties of the Chiricahua Apache Indians of the Southwest relate to sickness and to sorcery. However, since much of the sickness is explained, directly or indirectly, in terms of the use of evil power (sorcery), the greatest consternation is caused by the likelihood of attacks through baneful supernatural means.

Chiricahua Apache do not like to discuss the topic of witchcraft. Some informants who were willing to talk about anything else, even the most intimate matters, simply refused to give information on this subject. There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, to demonstrate too much knowledge of witchcraft places a person under suspicion of being a witch himself; too great a familiarity with the ways of those who "kill in secret" is considered a result of unhealthy interests or dubious practices. Also, an element of risk is involved. To speak freely about witches is to invite their attention and persecution, especially if the comments, as those of any decent Apache should be, are critical. Finally, the entire area of thought is so conducive to fear and so completely filled with unpleasant memories that the ordinary informant shrinks from exposing himself to the dreams and thoughts which are likely to follow such a discussion. Usually it is only when he is burning with indignation over some "evidence" of witchcraft or when he is in the midst of a feud with someone whom he is prepared to label a witch that the Chiricahua will express himself on this subject.

Thus the five accounts published here deal with an aspect of Chiricahua culture about which it is difficult to recover abundant material. They illustrate the Chiricahua Apache concept of the

plasticity of supernatural power, namely, that power may be used for good or evil depending on the character and design of the shaman. Moreover, they suggest that, according to the Chiricahua view, evil may arise either from the malevolence of man or from the advantages which evil power offers man if he will agree to be the instrument of the forces of malice. But it is plain throughout that sorcery can operate only through man and that consequently evil cannot flourish as long as humankind resists it courageously.

The last episode is included, despite its modern elements, because it is a good example of what takes place when new symbols are substituted for old without a change in the basic thought and attitude pattern.

1. *The Power of Sorcery Is Offered to a Chiricahua*

A friend told me he had a chance to be a witch. This was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.¹ He was sleeping in his house alone at night. There was a window right by him. It was dark. He heard somebody get in and walk around every night. He'd look up carefully, but he'd hear the window and door rattle and someone get in.

This thing appeared to him inside the house one night. An old woman and an old man came in naked and stood by his bed.² They were no persons he knew, just spirits. He was talking to them. While they were talking, a young boy and girl came in entirely naked and stood before him. And they told him, "We came over here to give you power to be a witch."

He says he talked to them. He said, "How am I going to be a witch?"

He told me later, "My friend, it's no wonder that when you suspect a witch you can't find out about him. It's right in here in the middle of the tongue. They told me to stick my tongue

¹ This story dates back to the time when the Chiricahua were held as prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, after being removed from their territory in the Southwest.

² Shamelessness, nakedness, and incest are associated with sorcery on the grounds that only witches would be guilty of such excesses.

out. They had pollen and said, 'Stick your tongue out. We'll cross your tongue with pollen and then anything you say you want to happen to a person, like wanting him to be killed, will happen that way.' I said, 'Go away, leave me alone! I'm a poor man. If it doesn't do good for my people, I don't want it.' I refused it, and they all opened the door and went out. But the next day the door was locked."³

He said, "That's why a witch will say, 'All right, if I'm a witch, find it. Take it out and I'll admit it.' You'd have to take his tongue out. You can't find it on him, but it's there."

That's what he told me, but I doubt that he refused it. Some say he is a witch. Everybody knows his father was a witch.⁴

2. *The Leader Who Refused to Sacrifice a Man to His Power*

This is a story of the early days. This man was a great warrior. I've forgotten his name; my father knows it; all the old men do. This man was a great shaman in the right way, otherwise he would not have done what he did. This man was leading man of the warriors. He had charge of a big group of them. He seemed to know through his power what was going to happen.

One time his power said, "In a day or so you are going to get into action against the enemy. I have helped you in many ways with beneficial power; now you have to do it the way I want it. I want the bravest man in your group. I want you to give that man to me to be killed."⁵

³ Pollen, especially pollen of the tule, is much used by the Chiricahua in ceremonial contexts. The cross, symbolizing the four directions, also appears frequently. Power, either for good or evil, may be accepted or rejected by the individual approached. Witches are usually charged with using material objects, such as the bones and hair of the dead, in their nefarious enterprises.

⁴ This man was most indiscreet to admit that evil power had been offered to him. Witches and witchcraft are so generally and irrationally feared that even to hint of exposure to such temptation may make his friends and relatives uneasy and suspicious. If public opinion ever turns against him, his account may be distorted and used to his disadvantage.

⁵ To control much supernatural power is not always an unmixed blessing, the Chiricahua believe, for power, after helping a shaman for an extended

He answered, "I will do no such thing!" He was a brave man himself. He got angry at his power. He said, "What were you from the beginning when you first spoke to me? I like to see my people increase in population with what power you give me to help me along. I love all my men, my warriors. They want to live in the world as long as they can. I love all these people, women and all. If you were a witch from the beginning, why didn't you tell me? I don't like witch people; I won't have witches talk to me. You promised me that it was all good for my people and myself." You didn't say that I'd have to give my people every now and then." He was arguing with his power, you see.

The power told him, "I have helped you a lot. I have gotten you out of danger and helped you in many other ways. And now I merely ask you for a man to pay for that, and you won't let me have one!"

The Apache said, "That's all right, I guess, but my habit is not that way, and I'm not going to do it. If you mean to save yourself a whole lot of trouble just take me. I love all the men. What have they to do with this power? If you want to take anyone or have anyone killed, take me."

period, may one day ask for "payment." Such payment might include a request that a relative or friend of the shaman be sacrificed. The complicity of the shaman, then, amounts to failure to warn the friend of the impending disaster or failure to use his influence over his power to dissuade it from the deed. The power works obliquely and takes its victims through sickness or during battle.

⁶ The shaman is hinting that this power must be evil rather than good. The Chiricahua conceive of the duality of supernatural power. Power may be used for good or for evil. In the latter case it is considered witchcraft. The impetus for the use of power for evil may come from the power itself, as in this story, or from the shaman. Sometimes a shaman will not consent to act as a tool of evil power; sometimes a source of power will desert a person "through whom it works" because that person wishes to use it in unsavory connections. For a summary of these beliefs see Morris Edward Opler, "The Concept of Supernatural Power among the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 37, no. 1, 1935, pp. 65-70 and *An Apache Life-Way*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 242-257.

They were talking during the day. The power said, "All right, I'll give you tonight and all day tomorrow. Tomorrow night you tell me what you are going to do."

The next day he called all his warriors and all his group together and all gathered around him. He said, "My brothers and sisters, what I have known for you people I thought was good. But at last I find out it is witchcraft. Last night I was fighting with my power. In another day or so we are going into battle. And my power told me to give up one of the very best warriors, the bravest man, the best man. I told my power, 'I will not do it. Just take me. If this ceremony is evil why didn't you tell me in the first place?' Power is angry with me, and I'm angry with him. My power told me to answer today or tonight and tell what I'm going to do."

He promised those Indians he would not do what the power requested. He said he'd rather pay the death himself. He said, "In a day or so we're going into battle. I may be killed then, for I will not give up one of my men. We've got to have this battle. We can't escape it. And I'm going to pay the death myself, but no one else will get hurt. Go ahead and fight the battle." He was a brave man.

Night came. He began to dispute with his power again. He wanted his way and Power wanted his. Finally his power said, "Well, then, I'll take you."

He said, "All right, for you're not going to have your way."

So the next morning he told the Apache again that he was not going to live more than a few days longer.

After another day or so they got into battle, so they claim. It was a hand-to-hand fight with guns, close. All the Indians fought faithfully. They killed many of their enemies. This shaman was the only man killed on their side. He was shot right in the forehead. That happened a long time ago.

3. *Old Dick Cures His Friend*

There was a man who had power in a different way. He, too, could heal in many ways and he performed his ceremony against

sickness. If the sick one was witched, he would not try it but would tell to whom it was best to go to have it taken out.⁷ If it was just a matter of sickness he could do it himself.

This man, while he was in Oklahoma, was riding along. He did many things he ought not to have tried. He took out objects of witchcraft. This Apache's power warned him not to touch the witch and not to try it. He was told he was going up against a rock he could not go through. He saw a big tree in the open. The tree asked him to move it to a place he liked better. He could not do it. It was just like that. And Power showed him in another way. It showed him a mountain. He asked it to move, but it would not move. It was like that. He did not have the power to do it.

"We cannot bother witches," his power told him. But he went on and held the ceremony. He held it for two days. At the end of the two days he tried to pull it out.⁸ He was up against it. He couldn't do a thing.

His power told him, "You're going to take it out next time but you're going to give your life for that boy."⁹

So he pulled it out. But it stuck in him. And the ceremony was over. The boy got well, but in four days this man got sick.

One friend who loved him hired a very powerful man to cure him. Everybody knew this man. He was Old Man Dick. Dick sang over him for six days and couldn't get him back to his senses. Then he got very angry. The last ceremony of the seventh day and night he said, "I'm going to send my power to help the one who is going away from us, and I don't think he will go away."¹⁰ And he can have my power and we'll carry on together and do nothing but good in this world."

⁷ In other words, he acted as a diagnostician in cases of witchcraft. That the Navaho had diagnosticians is well known; that they existed also among the Chiricahua and other Apache groups is less well understood.

⁸ Shamans cured the victims of witches by extracting from their bodies objects of witchcraft which had been "shot" into them by the evildoers.

⁹ That is, he succeeded only in transferring the cause of the sickness from the boy to himself.

¹⁰ A euphemism for dying.

The seventh night when Dick got back to his camp he got after his power. The power said, "Don't get after me for a little thing. I know what's the matter with him. I know what to do for him. He's all right. He's not going away. His power put him in trouble. He can keep that or throw it away, but he can also have me if he wants to, and he and you can practice this ceremony and do good among your people."

Then on that seventh night Dick studied it and sent his power that night. Then they saw Tuisga sitting up. He was much better. They called for Dick. He knew what it was. When he came into the house he marked the house with pollen, marked the people present, and marked Tuisga.¹¹ At daybreak Tuisga was lifted up by the power.

While this was being done Dick was praying. He prayed and prayed and said, "All present, don't become frightened. You'll see something with your eyes." Then from high up you could hear something falling. It came from the sunrise and hit the roof. The house trembled.¹² They heard an object hit on the south side. The house moved. Then from the west side an object fell. The house seemed to quiver. Then from the north side, and they thought the roof was coming off this time. All were quietly praying.

Then Dick did something else. He asked that flour gravy be brought and given to this man. Tuisga was very hungry and weak. He hadn't eaten for sixteen days.

"Now," said Dick, "I'm going to sing one song with four verses, and everybody is going to dance whether he likes it or not."¹³ And you women can call when you hear White-Painted Woman and Child-of-the-Water mentioned at the first verse.¹⁴

¹¹ Pollen, usually obtained from the cattail tule and symbolizing health, growth, and vitality, was a most sacred substance for the Chiricahua and was omnipresent in ceremonies. Marking the patient, the people, and the place with pollen is an act of blessing and purification.

¹² The Chiricahua Apache ceremonial circuit is sunwise, beginning with the east, the most important ritual direction.

¹³ The dance may function as a prayer in Chiricahua ceremonialism.

¹⁴ The ceremonial call of the women is a high-pitched ululating cry.

After the fourth word Child-of-the-Water will be mentioned. At the sixth word White-Painted Woman will be mentioned. Then you dance and after the singing let him eat the gravy." Everything came out the way he said.

Then they wanted to hear Tuisga sing. Tuisga started to sing himself. Tuisga said later, "Neither of us remembered one word of that song afterward. That was a supernatural song. Power was practicing it on me. I did not know it. Through it they were healing me."

After the ceremony everyone was glad.

I wasn't there at this time. He told me the story night after night, for he wanted me to be a shaman. He said, "You listen to this. It's worth while. And some day you will know the ceremony and be telling it like this."¹⁵

4. *The Witch Who Made Off With a Horse*

Enti was a Central Chiricahua, but he was always traveling around.¹⁶ Once he came to the camp of Old Chihuahua, the Eastern Chiricahua chief.

Chihuahua asked him, "Have you seen any Indians on your way here?"

"No."

"I wonder where they are. There used to be many Indians all through there. Maybe they've been driven out of there. I hear you have power to find people and to see the enemy. Suppose you hold a ceremony for us tonight and look for us."

¹⁵ Stories concerning the acquisition of a ceremony and its successful use are part of the stock in trade of the shaman. In order to insure co-operation and respect from his patient and the on-lookers, he usually prefaces the ceremony proper by such accounts. For an expansion of this point see Morris Edward Opler, "Some Points of Comparison and Contrast between the Treatment of Functional Disorders by Apache Shamans and Modern Psychiatric Practice," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, May, 1936, 1371-1387. A ceremony, subject to the approval of the power which is its source, may be passed on by a shaman to another person, and when it is so transferred it is necessary that the novice hear and learn the lore associated with it.

¹⁶ The word *en'ti* (i nasalized) literally means "witch" or "sorcery."

At first Enti said no. But they begged him and he agreed to do it.

That night, after dark, he started. He sang two songs. Then he stopped. He began to shake. He moved out into the brush as though he were being led.¹⁷ In a few minutes he came back.

"My power tells me that you are to stake a fat horse to the east. And on him there must be a good saddle blanket and a saddle and a gun and ammunition. I don't know why this is required. When it is done I'll have to sing more and find out."

"Has anyone got a good horse to put there?" asked Chihuahua. One young man had a fine white horse and he offered to bring it. Another brought a saddle, and soon everything that was asked for was there and the horse was staked to the east.

Then Enti started singing again. He sang two more songs. Again he began to shake. He went around the camp and then his power led him out to the west. The men sat and waited for his return. They waited a long time and still he did not come back.

"I wonder what happened to that fellow," said Chihuahua.

"I'll bet he went over to that horse," said another.

"You had better run over and see," Chihuahua told him.

The man ran over there and, sure enough, the horse was gone.

When Enti got away with this horse he headed for Natazi. He came to the encampment of Cochise.¹⁸ Enti had some kind of love ceremony and they say he had that whole camp crazy. He got away with six women. Then he heard that Cochise was after him and he ran off again. He came to Hot Springs country where my family lived. But Cochise and a group of men came after him. Cochise was a real fighter and not many stood out against him. They caught Enti at Hot Springs and

¹⁷ In ceremonies to locate the position of the enemy or to find lost objects, the power is expected to move the outstretched arm or the body of the shaman in the proper direction.

¹⁸ Cochise was the leader of the Central Chiricahua band. His son, Naiche, co-operated with Geronimo in the Indian War of 1886 which ended in the surrender of Geronimo to General Nelson A. Miles and the exile of the entire Chiricahua tribe from the west for 27 years.

they tied him up, hung him up in the sun so he couldn't move. They were going to kill him there.

But some of the Hot Springs people asked Cochise about it. They wanted to know why he was treating this man like this; they wanted to know what Enti had done. Enti was sweating there in the sun and he was all cramped up from the way he was tied. "Kill me if you are going to and have it over," he told Cochise.

"Never mind, we'll take care of you when we're good and ready," Cochise told him and went off with some of the Hot Springs people, explaining what Enti had done over in his country.

While Cochise was away telling these things to some of the Hot Springs men, my father came along. He had been drinking and was feeling pretty happy. He saw Enti hung there, twisting and suffering from the heat. He took his knife and cut the ropes. Enti jumped on a horse and got away again. This was the time he came to Mescalero country. Cochise was certainly angry when he found out Enti was gone. But he was afraid to get after my father, for my father had many friends there.

Enti was finally killed at Mescalero. He made many enemies. Every time he got drunk he would tell someone, "I'm a witch and I'm going to kill you." So one time they killed him.¹⁹

He knew that Enti was his name. They called him that right to his face.²⁰

5. *The Man Who Signed Up With the Devil*

It's a very nasty thing I heard about a certain man. This happened about 1913, the spring of 1913, twenty years ago this month. Everybody says this fellow is a witch. He got sick

¹⁹ There is considerable evidence that there were Chiricahua Apache who believed that they could harm or kill fellow tribesmen whom they disliked by means of supernatural power and who made threats and boasts concerning such activity, usually when under the influence of intoxicants.

²⁰ A Chiricahua will address a person by name only in anger or in an emergency situation. The implication here is that this man was occasionally called by this unsavory name in anger.

toward spring sometime, and he pretty near died. It was pneumonia, I think. He told the story to others, and they spread it all right.

He was unconscious and out of his mind. He was out of his mind, but he wasn't dreaming. His relatives thought he was going to die. When he was out of his mind, he was somewhere else, as he told the story. He said afterward, "I saw the place where the dead people go. I was on a high mountain. On the side of the mountain there was grass, yucca, and rocks." His relatives were crying that he was going to die. He was already out of his mind and in the other place they said.

He said he felt that he was dying, and all at once he opened his eyes. He was sitting there and then he began to slide. He grasped the grass. He saw a big shoot down there.²¹ He was part way in, just hanging on the edge.

Something said, "Look down there; that's where all the dead people are."

This man said, "I looked down there and saw all kinds of beasts down there. It's a big round cave. It's dark down there, but after while I saw bones. The animals, lions and others, were just waiting for me to fall." It's very, very peculiar, but it's the way he told it a few months before we came to Mescalero. He looked down and was holding on to the edge. The voice said, "Those are dead people's bones; those animals eat up the flesh."²²

He did not yet know who was speaking to him. He just heard a voice. And he could hardly keep from sliding in there. It was a deep pit, nothing but solid rocks.

The voice said, "Look at me."

This man said, "I looked up. There was the Devil standing .

²¹ The aboriginal Chiricahua belief is of an underworld which the dead reach by falling through a hole in the earth's crust onto a cone of sand below.

²² The punishment of the dead in the afterworld is an idea traceable to Christian doctrines. The aboriginal Chiricahua conception of the underworld pictured a land of plenty and contentment, with no judgment of the departed.

with horns and a tail with spears on; a red Devil, and every time he spoke, fire came out of his mouth.²³ The Devil told me, 'There's only one way you can be saved. You have to promise me that you'll be a faithful worker for me. Are you going to do it? If you say no, you're going to fall straight down and go to those beasts.'"

Then he replied, "Yes, I promise you I'll be a faithful worker for you if you will let me live in the world once more."

The man said, "All at once the Devil says, 'All right, stand up on the bank,' and he disappeared for a while. And then came the Devil with a high table and a big book and red ink. And he put the table there, and the book there, and I was standing right there. And he commenced to open the book, all written with red ink. He said, 'You see those men living here. Those are my men. They are living on earth. They are signed up with me already.' He kept turning the pages and came to the list of names. It was a big book and there were many pages to fill still. The Devil said, 'If you promise me you will do everything in this world that is wicked, if you will engage in mean ways and all that, I'll let you live a long while.'"

And they claim this man said, "All right," and signed up with him. After he signed his name the Devil disappeared. Then he opened his eyes. He was back on earth. His people were all crying and shouting.

He said, "What are you crying for? I'm not dead."

From then on he got well. He's a good worker too.

²³ In this account the Devil takes the place of evil power of older Chiricahua traditions and prolongs the life of the man who agrees to do his bidding. Needless to say, the person who made these allegations is a political and social enemy of the one who is accused of "signing up" with the Devil.

SOME RECENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

JOHN M. COOPER

THE publications here listed and briefly commented on are a selection from the anthropological output chiefly of the latter half of 1945 and of 1946. They have been selected in view of the needs and interests of colleges giving some undergraduate work in anthropology and of readers interested but not professionally engaged in the field. Those desiring fuller technical bibliographies should consult the current numbers of such professional periodicals as *American Anthropologist*, *American Antiquity*, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *Anthropos*, *L'Anthropologie*, *Journal of American Folklore* and *Afroamerica*.

Two basic indispensable monographs on very early fossil human and anthropoid skeletal remains, with detailed discussions of the bearing of these remains on human prehistory, are: Franz Weidenreich, *Giant Early Man from Java and South China* (*Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropol. Papers*, v. 40, pt. 1), N. Y., 1945, pp. 134, 12 pl., \$2.00,—high-lighting the recent discoveries of archaic giant human types; R. Broom and G. W. H. Schepers, *The South African Fossil Ape-Men: The Australopithecinae* (*Transvaal Museum Memoir*, No. 2), Pretoria, 1946, pp. 272, 18 pl., about \$6.00,—giving us a minutely documented report on these very significant fossil South African anthropoids. Weidenreich, in his *Apes, Giants and Man* (*Univ. of Chicago Press*), Chi., 1946, pp. 122, 78 fig., \$2.50, gives an exposition of his views for the non-professional public.

Among recent works covering wider areas of physical anthropology may be singled out for particular interest and value: R. Ruggles Gates, *Human Genetics*, 2 v. (*Macmillan*), N. Y., 1946, pp. 1-742, 743-1518, \$15.00,—a monumental critical review of this vast field, with extensive bibliographies; M. F. Ashley-Montagu, *An Introduction to Physical Anthropology* (*C. C. Thomas*), Springfield, Ill., 1945, pp. 325, \$4.00,—what the title states; Henri V. Vallois, *Les races humaines* (*Presses Universi-*

taires de France, 108 Blvd. St.—Germain), Paris, 1944, pp. 128, —multum in parvo.

Our four most dependable chronometers—tree rings, varved clays, fluctuations in solar radiation, radioactivity—and others less dependable for dating in years the past prior to the time covered by documented historic calendars are minutely described and critically evaluated in Frederick E. Zeuner, *Dating the Past: An Introduction to Geochronology* (Methuen), London, 1946, pp. 444, 24 pl., 103 diagrams, 30 sh.,—our best general work on the age of early human remains and of the human race as such.

A distinguished addition to our general introductions to cultural anthropology is Kaj Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur; Eine allgemeine Ethnologie*, tr. (Orell Füssli Verlag, Zurich; obtainable in USA from Explorers' Book Service, 419 39th St., Union City, N. J.), pp. 587, 351 half-tone illustr., 6 maps, \$10.00, covering the whole range of culture—technological, social, religious—with emphasis on problems of historical reconstruction.

Two eminently worthwhile contributions to child life and education are: Morris E. Opler, *Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society* (Publ. F. W. Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, v. 5, Southwest Museum), Los Angeles, 1946, pp. 170, \$3.00,—based on the author's extensive field work; George A. Pettitt, *Primitive Education in North America* (Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol., v. 43, No. 1, pp. 1–182, Univ. Calif. Press), Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946, \$2.25,—based on our sources and covering native peoples of North America, north of Mexico. Leo W. Simmons, *The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society* (Yale Univ. Press), New Haven, 1945, pp. 317, \$4.00, a comparative study of the status and treatment of the aged in a world-wide selection of 71 tribes, represents a pioneer anthropological contribution to the rapidly expanding field of gerontology.

While anthropology's traditional major concern has been with the non-literate peoples, interest in literate ("civilized") peoples has never been entirely lacking and in the last decade has notably increased. Indicative of this increased interest are the following very significant studies, each of them constituting an

approach that is both fresh and objective: R. H. Lowie, *The German People: A Social Portrait to 1914* (Farrar and Rinehart), N. Y. and Toronto, 1945, pp. 143, \$1.75,—the social psychology of the Germans by an anthropologist who has had lifelong familiarity with them; John F. Embree, *The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey* (Farrar and Rinehart), N. Y., 1945, pp. 308, \$3.00,—our best study of Japanese social organization; Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Houghton Mifflin), Boston, 1946, pp. 324, \$3.00,—a penetrating insight into the patterned motivations of the people; Martin C. Yang, *A Chinese Village: Taitou, Shantung Province* (Columbia Univ. Press), N. Y., 1945, pp. 275, \$3.00,—a community study by a social scientist who was born and reared in the village whose people and culture he describes.

During the last two years the broad interpretative literature of anthropology has been enriched by several works of outstanding merit. Among the most important are the following: A. L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Univ. of Calif. Press), Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944, pp. 882, \$7.50,—an elaborate inductive study of the development and fortunes of philosophy, science, sculpture, painting, drama, literature and music among the technologically advanced peoples of the world, in many respects comparable with the great syntheses of Spengler, Toynbee and Sorokin, in many respects, too, a valuable corrective of them; Ellsworth Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilization* (John Wiley and Sons), N. Y., 1945, pp. 660, \$4.75,—a recapitulation, in a sense, of the writer's life work in stressing the influences of climate and geographical environment on culture, a summary which manifests both the suggestiveness and the many weaknesses of Huntington's approach; Abram Kardiner, with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois and James West, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (Columbia Univ. Press), N. Y., 1945, pp. 475, \$5.00,—a further clarification and elaboration by Kardiner of his psychoanalytic interpretation of culture, with some amateur and not altogether happy ventures into theology; Alex. H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp* (Princeton Univ. Press), Princ-

ton, 1945, pp. 404, \$3.75,—an eminently successful attempt to fulfil the promise implied in the sub-title, by one of the best of our psychiatrists who has also had anthropological training and experience; Bronislaw Malinowski (edited by Phyllis M. Kaberry), *The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa* (Yale Univ. Press), New Haven, 1945, pp. 171, \$2.50,—a distinct contribution alike to acculturational studies and to applied anthropology, published posthumously from Malinowski's papers.

Among a considerable number of valuable tribal and regional monographic studies the following call for particular mention:

a. *North America*. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, bull. 137), Washington, 1946, pp. 943, 107 pl., \$2.75,—a superb summary of this large field by the one man living who is capable of doing it, a work that will undoubtedly be the classic source for the area for decades to come; Margaret Lantis, *The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* (Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc., n.s., v. 35, pt. 3), Phila., 1946, pp. 153-323, \$2.50,—based on a year's field study at Nunivak Island, and dealing with non-material culture and mythology; F. G. Speck, *The Iroquois: A Study in Cultural Evolution* (Cranbrook Institute of Science, bull. 23), Bloomfield Hills, Mich., 1945, pp. 94, \$1.00,—our best short summary of Iroquois culture; Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Harvard Univ. Press), Cambridge, 1946, pp. 258, \$4.50,—a model of monographic presentation, covering the whole culture including psychological and other aspects thereof not usually covered in tribal monographs; Berard Haile, *The Navaho Fire Dance or Corral Dance: A Brief Account of its Practice and Meaning* (St. Michaels Press), St. Michaels. Ariz., 1946, pp. 57, \$1.50,—a booklet that gives not only a description of the dance but also an account and explanation of the associated feats of legerdemain; Ruth M. Underhill, *Papago Indian Religion* (Columbia Univ. Contrib. to Anthropol., no. 33; Columbia Univ. Press), N. Y., 1946, pp. 359, \$4.50,—one of the best studies extant of an aboriginal religion, based on repeated field investigations between 1931 and 1935.

b. *Middle America*. Sylvanus G. Morley, *The Ancient Maya* (Stanford Univ. Press), Stanford University, Calif., pp. 520,

75 pl., \$10.00,—a masterly treatment, descriptive, historical and interpretative, by the man who knows the Maya best, from his forty years of study of their remains.

c. *South America*. A five-year project under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution is drawing toward completion with the publication in 1946 of the first two volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians (Bureau of Amer. Ethnol., bull. 143), v. 1, The Marginal Tribes, pp. 624, 112 pl., \$2.75, and v. 2, The Andean Civilizations, pp. 1035, 192 pl., \$4.25, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. These volumes represent a critical survey and summary of all that is known of the simpler collecting cultures and the advanced native western cultures of the southern continent, and constitute the standard reference works in their field. The respective chapters have been written by some thirty to thirty-five of the leading specialists of North and South America, under the general editorship of Dr. Julian H. Steward. Vol. 3 of the Handbook, on the Tropical Forest Tribes, and vol. 4 on the Circum-Caribbean Tribes, are in press and should be issued during 1947; vol. 5, the final one, on the Comparative Anthropology of South American Indians will soon go to press. One other important addition to our South American literature is the fine tribal monograph, Curt Nimuendajú, The Eastern Timbira (tr. and ed. R. H. Lowie; Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol., v. 41, Univ. Calif. Press), Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946, pp. 357, 42 pl., \$4.50.

d. *Old World*. Two very good monographs by Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, The Chenchus: Jungle Folk of the Deccan (Macmillan), London, 1943, pp. 391, \$8.50, and The Reddis of the Bison Hills (Macmillan), London, 1945, pp. 373, \$8.50, give us our first detailed information on these very simple peoples of Hyderabad. Fay-Cooper Cole, The Peoples of Malaysia (Van Nostrand), N. Y., 1945, pp. 354, \$4.00, yields an excellent overall picture of the cultures of the area and a brief history, for the general reader. A very thorough bibliography, arranged by islands and tribes, of the Indonesian region is offered by Raymond Kennedy, Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures (Yale Anthropological Studies, v. 4), New Haven, 1945, pp. 212, \$2.50.

During the last two years, three very important new anthropological journals have been launched: *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, edited by Leslie Spier, quarterly, subscription \$4.00 a year (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico), designed to include articles in all branches of anthropology and offered as a vehicle of expression for anthropologists in all parts of the world, 6 numbers published to date, averaging about 150 pages each; *Afroamerica*, Journal of the International Institute of Afroamerican Studies, edited by an international committee, semi-annual, subscription \$2.00 (USA dollars) a year (Museo Nacional de Antropología, Moneda 13, México, D. F.), polyglot (Spanish, English, Portuguese, French), devoted to studies on the somatological and cultural aspects of the Negro populations of the Americas, 3 numbers published to date; *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, membership including subscription 250 fr. a year (Musée de l'Homme, Place du Trocadéro, Paris 16e), publishing articles on Oceania with considerable emphasis on the native peoples, one number issued to date.

Colleges and college teachers considering the inauguration or revision of introductory courses in general anthropology will find a wealth of suggestions on content and presentation, with extensive selected bibliographies, in the splendidly organized Syllabus of General Anthropology, Part 1, Human Origins, An Introductory General Course in Anthropology (Univ. of Chicago Bookstore, 5801 Ellis Ave., Chi. 37), 2nd ed., 1946, pp. 108, mimeo, \$2.00, prepared by the staff of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago for use in their departmental instruction and generously placed at the disposal of other campuses. Two volumes of Selected Readings (Series I, 1946, offset, \$4.00, and Series II, 2nd ed., 1946, pp. 262, mimeo, \$4.00) for the course are also purchasable. Parts II and III of the Syllabus are in preparation, for issuance in the near future.

Anthropology is very poorly equipped with classroom "teaching aids," such as wall maps, available commercially. C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's (wall) Map of North American Indian Languages (Amer. Ethnological Soc., publ. No. 20), N. Y., 1944, \$2.00 (order from J. J. Augustin, 125 E. 23rd St., N. Y. C.), is a welcome addition to our meager classroom equipment.

INDEX TO VOLUME 19

- Acculturation, Haitian Vodù, 1-58;
 San Blas Cuna, 63-80 *passim*;
 Chiricahua Apache, 90-92
 Apache, Chiricahua, sorcery, 81-92
 Art designs, Haitian Vodù, 2, 24, 48
 Bibliography, recent anthropological
 publications, 93-98
 Blowgun, New Hebrides pygmies,
 61
 Bryson, W., 59-62
 Burial, San Blas Cuna, 75
 Cooper, J. M., 93-98
 Cuna, San Blas, land tenure and
 other property concepts, 63-80
 Feasting of gods in Haitian Vodù,
 1-58
 Future life, Chiricahua Apache, 91
 Generosity, Cuna, 72, 74
 Haitian Vodù, 1-58
 Inheritance, Cuna, land, 70-71;
 houses, 72; movables, 74
 Land tenure, San Blas Cuna, 67-72
 Manism, in Haitian Vodù, 15-16,
 52-53, 57-58
 Métraux, A., 1-58
 Métraux, R., 7-58
 New Hebrides pygmies, 59-62
 Opler, M. E., 81-92
 Possession by spirits, Haitian Vodù,
 2-3, 6-58 *passim*
 Prayer, Haitian Vodù, 14-54 *passim*
 Property, ownership of, among San
 Blas Cuna, land and houses, 67-
 72; movables, 72-74; incorporeal,
 75-76; factors, 78-79; wealth,
 prestige, and status, 76-77
 Pygmies of New Hebrides, 59-62
 Religion, Haitian Vodù, 1-58
 Rigaud, O. M., 1-58
 Sacrifice, Haitian Vodù, 7-58 *pas-*
 sim
 Sickness, Haitian, 11; Chiricahua
 Apache, 81, 85-88
 Songs, Haitian Vodù, 10-50 *passim*
 Sorcery, Chiricahua Apache, 81-92
 Stout, D. B., 63-80
 Syncretism, religious, in Haitian
 Vodù, 1-58 *passim*
 Temperament and character, New
 Hebrides pygmies, 61-62
 Trade, San Blas Cuna, 66-67, 74-
 75, 79-80
 Vodù, Haitian, feasting of gods,
 1-58
 Witchcraft, Chiricahua Apache, 81-
 92



